1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291 177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *uakakaru*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu toukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalovu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8198 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293 283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *motoi welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or was wound round the waist (*pepelu hi te motoi welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

[764]

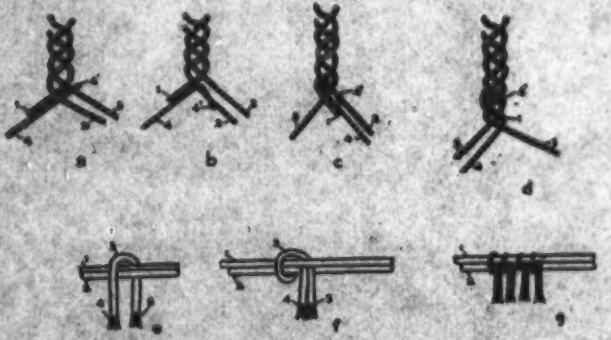
291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kako niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalovu*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *uahamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat C8094 (*taumata kawa*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4,4). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of coconut midrib ⅜ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*kaukaua*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18,*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*nuku nuhelahelaka*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, 4′) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end 4′ placed over ply 3. *b*, short end 4′ folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply 4′, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (4′) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*aewa*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*kaewale pukapuka*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Manihikian technique noted by Buck (29, p. 138, fig. 47).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *uvilo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

The priests of each lineage (*pō*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *uvilo* bark (*wuti uvilo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipuie, and Yamanain sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti uvilo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti uvilo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tuu and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pukayou hotuwu* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyou. It consisted of the usual *wuti uvilo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tuu was associated with the goddess Tuua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupuupu yu*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Tuua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Tuua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Tuua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalonga and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaalua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *waiti wulo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumonga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *wulo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *wulo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *suko wula* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lahau yili*, *toumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau waiti*); the people of Ysto, of coconut leaves or the *waile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

The *titi suko wula* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plait [illegible] of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 294 girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain handkerchief of *mako mata* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamanakonako*, *lalaua yili*, *pola pahu*, and *maile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

293 301 Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *nuo* fiber were termed *nuo titi si*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today. [764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

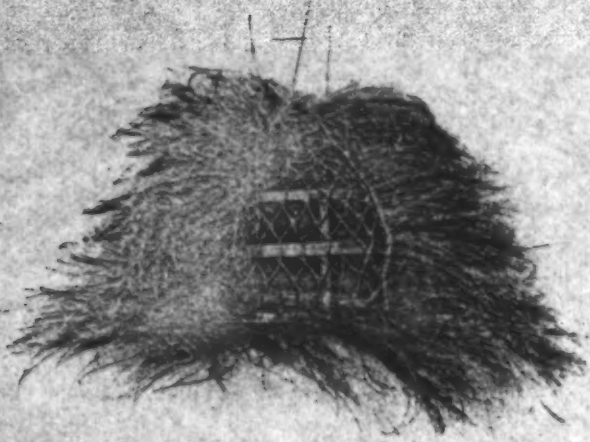
Breast Ornaments

301 431 Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

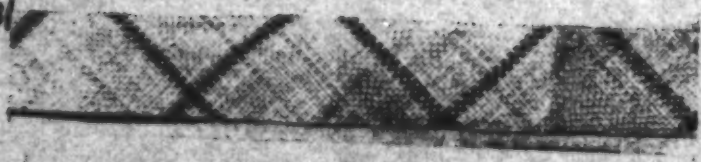
301 Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei libi si*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

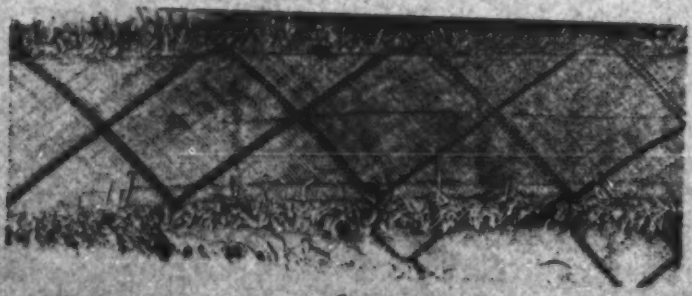
286
294



292
531



B



C

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.